

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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R 141643Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2306

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 7395

EXDIS

DEPT PASS NSC FOR SCOWCRAFT

DEPT PASS OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, LI

SUBJ: PRESIDENT TOLBERT WRITES SECRETARY KISSINGER ON NAMBIA

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY FROM  
PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON SUBJECT WHICH HAND-DELIVERED TO THE CHARGE,  
BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OCTOBER 14 (SIGNED ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED).

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR SECRETARY:

I ACKNOELDGE WITH THANKS YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 9,  
1976, WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO ME BY MY FOREIGN MINISTER ON HIS  
RETURN TO MONROVIA FROM NEW YORK ON THE 12STANT.

I DO REGRET THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PREVENTED US FROM EXCHANGING  
VIEWS ON MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN DURING MY RECENT STATE VISIT  
TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. BUT I UNDERSTAND AND APPREICATE  
FULLY YOUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA, WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, IS OF PARAMOUNT CONCERN TO ME,  
AS TENSION IN THE REGIONAL ESCALATES AND THERE IS NOT MUCH  
TIME LEFT FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTIONS OF  
THE PROBLEMS.

FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON WITH AMBASSADOR SEELYE,  
THEN ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS  
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ON THE SOUTHER AFRICAN QUESTION, THE AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER

DENNIS WERE TO MEET AGAIN IN NEW YORK, I INSTRUCTED MINISTER DENNIS TO CONVEY TO YOU, THROUGH AMBASSADOR SEELYE, MY VIEWS WITH REGARDS CERTAIN ASPECTS OF YOUR PEACE INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

I CHERISH THE SINCERE HOPE AND SHALL FERVENTLY PRAY THAT A JUST AND DURABLE SOLUTION WILL EMERGE FROM THE FORTHCOMING GENEVA CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE, BEING CONVENED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM, WHICH WILL SPEEDILY ENSURE MAJORITY RULE FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE.

AS I AM WRITING YOU THIS LETTER, I HAVE JUST CONCLUDED TALKS WITH MR. SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, WHO IS CURRENTLY VISITING ME IN MONROVIA. AND MR. NUJOMA HAS AGAIN GIVEN ME THE BENEFIT OF HIS FRANK ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF YOUR PEACE INITIATIVES.

AS MINISTER DENNIS HAS ALREADY CONVEYED TO YOU, THROUGH AMBASSADOR SEELYE, I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THERE CAN BE NO PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM WITHOUT THE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA WHICH, ALTHOUGH ILLEGALLY, DOES EXERCISE DE FACTO CONTROL OVER THE TERRITORY. THIS WAS WHY I AGREED TO A DIRECT CONTACT WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND ALLOWED HIM TO VISIT ME IN MONROVIA LAST YEAR. FOR I AM CONVINCED THAT HE HAS A CENTRAL ROLE TO PLAY IN BRINGING ABOUT A SPEEDY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. I CAN THEREFORE FULLY UNDERSTAND MR. NUJOMA WHEN HE SAYS THAT ANY NEGOTIATION REGARDING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION WITHOUT THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE MEANINGLESS. IN FACT MR. VORSTER TOLE ME AT THE TIME OF HIS VISIT THAT HE WANTED TO GET NAMIBIA OFF HIS BACK.

ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT CONCERN TO AFRICANS WITH REGARDS THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION IS THAT, UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ANY SUCH CONFERENCE MUST GIVE SWAPO A DISTINCT ROLE FOR, THE OAU IN NUMEROUS RESOLUTIONS HAS CLEARLY RECOGNIZED NAMIBIA - A POSITION WHICH HAS BEEN FULLY ENDORSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. SO, WHILE THERE ARE SEVERAL CRUCIAL ISSUES CONCERNING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION, I BELIEVE THAT THESE THREE REQUIREMENTS - THE PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA -  
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ARE THE PRINCIPAL ONES ON WHICH ANY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE BASED.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I CONTINUE TO HAVE FAITH IN YOUR INITIATIVES AND I BELIEVE THAT IF YOU WERE TO FIND IT POSSIBLE TO STRESS THE POINTS I HEREIN MAKE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, YOU MAY PERHAPS THEN BE WELL ALONG THE ROAD TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM. BUT HERE IS A GROWING FEELING

WHICH I HAVE NOT BROUGHT MYSELF TO BELIEVE THAT IN YOUR RECENT INITIATIVES NAMIBIA HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN THE URGENT CONSIDERATION SHE TOO IS MOST DESERVANT OF. I FEEL THE SOONER YOU ARE ABLE TO DISPEL THIS PERCEPTION THE MORE APPRECIATED WILL BE YOUR SOUTHERN AFRICAN EFFORTS.

IT SHALL REMAIN MY ARDENT HOPE THAT ONE DAY IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE FREEDOM WILL COME TO OUR OPPRESSED AND SUPPRESSED BROTHERS; SELF-DETERMINATION, INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN DIGNITY WILL BE ENJOYED BY ALL. IF WE ACCEPT THIS CHALLENGE AND REMAIN UNRELENTING IN OUR EFFORTS, I BELIEVE THAT NOT ONLY WILL BLOODSHED, HATRED AND RANCOR BE MINIMIZED, BUT THAT A TRULY MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY COULD EVOLVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

KINDEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

SINCERELY,  
/S/ W.R. TOLBERT, JR.

END QUOTE.

3. IN ADDITION, AS IS CUSTOM HERE, FONMIN ALSO DELIVERED TEXT OF LETTER (NO SIGNED ORIGINAL) TO PRESIDENT FORD FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT REPEATING TEXT OF LETTER TO THE SECRETARY WITH THE HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT "WILL FIND THE COURSE OF ACTION SUGGESTED THEREIN WORTHY OF SERIOUS AND TIMELY CONSIDERATION". EMBASSY COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTTEL.  
HORAN

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## Message Attributes

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